

THE HOUSE THAT COPE BUILT!



Americans are fond of mother, apple pie, baseball and elections. We take great pride that our leaders are selected in free and open elections; the great American tradition. Not only do we dutifully go to the polls on election day, we love to watch the conventions, smirk at the bombastic oratory, thrill to the parades, horn tooting and banner waving. But most Americans view the spectacle from the sidelines, usually comfortably propped in front of a TV set viewing the whole scene with a wry smile. Politics, oh, it really doesn't make any difference. Besides, it's controversial. It's best not to get involved. It might be bad for business.

How many people feel this way? You'd be amazed. In fact, less than 1% of our citizens contribute funds to any candidate and approximately 5% actively work for the candidate of their choice. So, 95% of those who vote, elect politicians who have been chosen by the 5%. Because of this "ho-hum" attitude of the 95% who sit on the sidelines, pressure groups can step in and control the selection and election of candidates.

It is important for every American citizen to understand how a small pressure group can have a tremendous influence out of proportion to its numbers in selecting a candidate and controlling how that candidate votes after he is elected.

Elections require three things: money, organization, and manpower. With such a small percentage of the population participating in the selection of political aspirants, the candidate may expediently take his support from those who are willing to provide the necessary money, organization and manpower.

Political parties are usually restricted from officially supporting candidates in primary elections so the candidate backed by the pressure group will usually win because he acquires an organization package which supplies the money, and manpower. It is possible for the same pressure group to select candidates from both parties for the general election, thus assuring their control over the office.

The most powerful political pressure group in America today is COPE, the letters standing for Committee On Political Education. COPE is the political arm of the AFL-CIO. The object of COPE is to elect candidates to public office who are deemed to be "pro-labor." COPE is an organization whose power over our national government today, through its power over the electorate, has never before been equalled in a free country. It possesses in staggering abundance the financial and organizational requirements necessary to electing candidates.

The Committee On Political Education was born in 1955, when the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) merged to form the largest and most powerful union organization in the world. COPE's "parents" were the separate and respective political arms of the two federations, the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education (LLPE) and the CIO's Political Action Committee (PAC).

Although the AFL and its LLPE had always encouraged its members to become active in local politics, it had remained true to the non-partisan tradition established by its founder and first president, Samuel Gompers, when he said "labor is not partisan to a political party, it is partisan to a principle".¹ The Communists and other elements of the Far Left had urged the AFL to become more active in politics and, some argued, should have become a separate political party, but the anti-Communist Gompers refused to listen to them.

As a result of this rejection by the AFL, the Radical Left set up its own labor political organizations in an attempt to undermine the influence of the AFL. One such organization was called the Industrial Workers of the World, popularly known as the "Wobblies," a Socialist-Communist group which instigated some of the most vicious and bloody strikes in labor history; another was the Trade Union Educational League, a Communist front set up in the 1920's. These organizations worked hard to elect Socialist candidates.

But these efforts were all in vain. The American people would never accept a radical third political party, and so the Far Left turned to the Democrats. Few Americans respected the Communist-inspired labor

organizations, and the Far Left had to find a more respectable political covering. Their opportunity to work through labor came in 1936 when a group of radical industrial union leaders split away from the AFL to form the Congress Of Industrial Organizations.

The Communists rushed into the new CIO in masses. Its first president, John L. Lewis, who later left the federation because of political differences, said after his departure, "When I was organizing the CIO we picked up a lot of Communists in one unit after another".² Why were the Communists so interested in the CIO? Because the radical, militant and naive leaders, John L. Lewis and Socialists Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky, were intent on getting labor into politics on a grand scale. This goal was the same one the Communists had been pushing for years and the Reds were sure to be on hand when the decisions were made. Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky, as many others, foolishly thought they could use the Communists, instead of the Communists using them.

The CIO's final and largest entry into politics came when it organized the Political Action Committee. Much of the inspiration for PAC and its activities came directly from the Communists and, at the time of PAC's formation, known Communists were in control of many of the CIO's affiliated unions and they occupied eighteen of the forty-nine seats on the CIO's executive board. When PAC was set up, a Socialist lawyer, Louis Waldman, wrote that "if the CIO was PAC's father, the Communist Party was at least its godmother".³

PAC succeeded in virtually taking over the Democratic Party in many areas of the country and established its own political organization.

In 1955, the AF of L merged with the CIO and the Committee on Political Education was formed. While the AFL had only concentrated on education and had no political organization, COPE followed the CIO-PAC example and set up a strongly-centralized, well-disciplined political machine which was closely allied with the Democratic Party.

COPE has a fantastic impact on the American political scene.

It is estimated that COPE spends more money on politics than does either the Republican or Democratic Party.⁴ According to the U.S. Department of Labor, unions have an annual income from dues of 1.5 billion.⁵ Exactly how much of this is spent for political purposes, it is difficult to tell.⁶ Like an iceberg, only a minute proportion of the spending shows up as actual donations to candidates. Most political spending is disguised as "education," or donations to other organizations whose purposes are essentially political. Laws requiring unions to account for their spending are so loose that no accurate tabulation of politically related expenditures is possible. There is no way to measure the financial value of the tens of thousands of free campaign workers working full time for COPE-controlled candidates, the free office space, telephones, or the mountains of free literature donated to COPE's standard bearers.⁷

Besides the money extracted from union dues, COPE also conducts "Dollar Drives" for COPE candidates among the 13.5 millions AFL-CIO members. Donations are theoretically voluntary, but usually the shop steward does the collecting and it is difficult for a worker who is compelled to belong to the union to refuse to contribute.⁸ Through union dues and high pressure "Dollar Drives" many union members are forced to financially support candidates to whom they are opposed. The candidates who receive COPE support are selected by the COPE hierarchy, not the rank-and-file members. They are forced to accept COPE's candidates. They have no choice.

There is a COPE organization in every major city in the United States. In addition, there are 62,000 AFL-CIO locals and each one serves as a COPE headquarters working on political education day in and day out, year in and year out, whether a campaign is in progress or not.⁹

COPE has a myriad of legislative programs which it promotes through posters, pamphlets, films, radio and television programs going into 930 communities in all 50 states plus the 4,000 separate labor publications published in the United States. COPE also distributes a handbook for speakers which details the COPE "line" on every conceivable

issue.¹⁰ There is one theme running through COPE's programs; that is to sell the American public socialistic legislation by disguising it in humanitarian, idealistic terms, and promoting it under names other than socialism. Old line socialist Upton Sinclair has admirably described this technique, "I think socialism is absolutely inevitable. Of course, I'd like to make it plain I don't expect it to come all at once and I don't expect the majority of people to know when it's coming or even when it's happening".¹¹

COPE's theory of bringing about a socialistic America, via the ballot box, was expressed in the COPE training film, "People In Politics." It is largely a "numbers game," according to the film. For example, in 1960, 70 million people voted; about half were judged "pro-labor" and half were "anti-labor." But, the film points out, there were 50 million potential voters who would, in COPE's opinion, be 95% in favor of COPE backed candidates giving labor candidates a margin of 80 million to 35 million.¹²

COPE's job then is two-fold; first, see that the 50 million people get registered and, second, herd them to the polls with a marked sample ballot on election day.

COPE has, and is spending millions of dollars on year round voter registration drives. COPE's films tell how COPE employees systematically comb neighborhoods to make sure every potential labor vote is enrolled. Once registered, COPE keeps a file card on every sympathetic voter so that he can be taken to the polls on election day.

As election day approaches, COPE establishes a command post in every city which is organized with military-like precision. Each precinct is mapped out and carefully canvassed to extract every last "labor" vote and mountains of propaganda materials flood the area to familiarize everyone with COPE's candidates.

The tenor of the COPE material is the same. The businessman is portrayed as the exploiter of the poor laboring man for the sake of greedy profits. Emotional slogans such as "people before profits" permeate COPE literature.

Candidates that COPE opposes are portrayed as being against the working man and "tools" of big business. Fear tactics are used freely. COPE's opponents are often portrayed as war mongers, destroyers of social security, extremists and enemies of job security.

In the 1966 California gubernatorial election, COPE's leadership deems Ronald Reagan a "real danger to labor" and pledged that COPE would raise one million four hundred thousand dollars to defeat Mr. Reagan. This article reads, "at an all-day session 80 labor leaders set a goal of 1.4 million to finance the drive — \$1.00 for every AFL-CIO member in California".¹³

This anti-labor label attached to Mr. Reagan is ludicrous because for many years Mr. Reagan was an effective leader of a prominent labor union, The Screen Actors Guild, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

Once you have convinced people that they have been exploited and used, then the theme of Karl Marx, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" has greater appeal. It is then proper to take something that belongs to someone else, as long as, in your judgement, he can afford it or you need it.¹⁴

Whatever the people "want," the COPE politician promises; and of course it's all yours if you vote the right way. Government will provide.

Would you like the government to take care of you from the cradle to the grave? Vote for it! Would you like others to pay your medical bills? Vote for it! Would you like a pay raise? Vote for it! Would you like others to totally relieve you of your responsibilities? Vote for it! Is all of this moral? COPE says it is your right as an American citizen. The majority is right. In other words, might makes right. The group that can amass the most support at the polls can then legally loot the losers. Our government was never intended to become the instrument of thievery, but Socialists have successfully robbed millions of Americans under the humanitarian guise of progressive legislation, social planning and national welfare.

On election day, no stone is left unturned as the COPE machine goes from high-gear into overdrive. Registered voters are useless if they don't vote. The months of preparation, registration, indexing of names and dividing up precincts are all geared for this day. Every potential

voter home is telephoned from COPE headquarters. Transportation and babysitters are provided free. Paid workers walk the precincts to get out the vote, and then see that they do vote. Marked sample ballots are provided to relieve people of the drudgery of thinking for themselves.

Once elected, a COPE-backed candidate in many ways does not represent his constituents, but represents those who were responsible for his victory. It is logical that the one who pays the bills "calls the tune." For example, public opinion polls consistently show that most Americans, including the vast majority of union members, are opposed to foreign-aid gifts to Communist dictators, especially when used to build automated steel plants in Czechoslovakia. Then Czechoslovakian weapons are used to kill Americans in Viet Nam. Yet, the politicians keep voting your money to Communist nations. COPE-owned candidates, contrary to the wishes of most union members, were instrumental in seeing that American money continued to flow to Communist countries.¹⁵ Any candidate who is put in office by COPE **must** vote most of the time as COPE dictates or he will find the COPE machine backing another candidate in the next primary election.

In districts that COPE does not expect to win with their type of candidate, COPE occasionally endorses the likely-winner. This maneuver affords COPE the protective shield of non-partisanship.

Most Americans assume their elected officials are typical "apple pie" Americans and that these men are all dedicated to preserving the American way of life. Let's take a look at a handful of these "apple pie" Americans.

On February 18, 1965, United States Congressman George Brown stated, "U.S. strikes on North Viet Nam are quite comparable to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor." Brown, a conscientious objector until the waning months of World War II, continued, "Our carefree willingness to help destroy Asiatics only strengthens the rapidly growing view that white Americans are quite willing to lend their military technology to the destruction of as much of the non-white world as possible."¹⁶

Senator William J. Fulbright authored a paper titled "The Elite and The Electorate" for the Ford Foundation's Center for Democratic Studies. This report, which deals with the necessity of an elite corps of intellectuals to plan and run the lives of the common man, is prefaced with the statement, "The question before us can be answered simply: government by the people is possible, but highly unlikely."¹⁷

While United States Congressman Augustus Hawkins served in the California State Legislature, his fellow legislators issued a report which stated, "Hawkins has consistently followed the Communist Party line."¹⁸ They pointed out that he was an official sponsor of the Young Communist League,¹⁹ an instructor in two schools sponsored by the Communist Party,²⁰ served on the fund raising committee for the official newspaper of the Communist Party,²¹ THE PEOPLE'S WORLD, and had been a member of thirteen organizations cited as "Communist Fronts" by government investigating bodies.²² In spite of these revelations Hawkins was elected to the United States Congress.

What do these members of the national legislature have in common? They are all COPE-endorsed and supported by the COPE machine.

The individual most responsible for putting COPE on the militant course set by PAC is the man who was the leader of the CIO before the 1955 merger, Walter Reuther. While Reuther has never held any official position with COPE, his influence has been strong and un-mistakeable. The radical, militant Reuther has held great power over the political course of Big Labor.

Reuther was born in Wheeling, West Virginia in 1907, the son of Valentine Reuther, a candidate for Congress on the Socialist Party ticket.²³

Walter Reuther was indoctrinated in socialism as a youth by his father. A regular ritual at the Reuther household were mock debates to train the four Reuther boys in the techniques of advocating socialism.²⁴

As a student at Wayne University in 1932, Walter organized a campus chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy formerly known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.²⁵

Later that year, Walter and his brother, Victor, abandoned formal education in order to gain practical experience for their careers. That experience was a journey to work in Communist Russia.²⁶

During the past decade, Reuther's press agent army has tried to distort the facts of his trip, maintaining that it was simply a general world tour. The Reuther trip lasted 32 months, over half of it spent in Communist Russia.²⁷

Dr. J. B. Mathews was an admitted fellow-traveler of the Communists for many years before breaking with socialism. Mathews knew the Reuther brothers intimately and met with them the night before they left America. He states, "Despite the wholesale distortions and false impressions, the fact is that the Reuther brothers embarked on an enthusiastic pilgrimage to the Soviet Union. That was their goal when they boarded ship in New York Harbor, in February, 1933".²⁸

By the beginning of 1934, the Reuthers were in Russia working in the automobile plant at Gorky. From Russia they wrote letters to friends. One letter to Melvin and Gladys Bishop dated January 21, 1934, reprinted in a Socialist Party newspaper at the time, contains great praise for life in Russia:

"... the daily inspiration that is ours as we work side by side with our Russian comrades in our factory, the thought that we are actually helping to build a society that will forever end the exploitation of man by man, the thought that what we are building will be for the benefit and enjoyment of the working-class, not only of Russia, but the entire world, is the compensation we receive for our temporary absence from the struggle in the United States. Mel, you know Wal and I were always strong for the Soviet Union. You know we were always ready to defend it against the lies of reactionaries . . . In all my life, Mel, I have never seen anything so inspiring. Mel, once a fellow has seen what is possible where workers gain power, he no longer fights just for an ideal, he fights for something which is real, something tangible.

Carry on the fight for a Soviet America. Vic. and Wal."²⁹

At one time the Reuthers did not deny that they wrote the letter to the Bishops. They said it was "adolescent enthusiasm".³⁰ Walter was 29 at the time. Later, when Russia was less popular with the American public, the propaganda mill tried to bury the letter. However, both Walter and Victor have been invited before a Congressional Committee to point out under oath any distortions in the letter, but this they refused to do.³¹

This picture of the Reuther brothers appeared in the official Communist paper, THE DAILY WORKER, in September, 1937. Part of the caption reads, "They are champions of the united front within the Socialist Party." At this time Reuther was a registered Socialist.³²

In 1946, Reuther ran for President of the UAW. Standing in his way was George Addes, a man with a strong pro-leftist background.

During his fight for election as UAW President it was assumed that if Reuther won there would be a purge of the Communists.

However, immediately after the voting, Reuther stood up and faced the convention and said: "I want now to extend my hand to George Addes . . . and tell him that together we can unite this organization".³³

In March 1954 Reuther's UAW called a strike of employees of the Kohler Co., a Wisconsin firm manufacturing plumbing fixtures. The strikers were lead by professional goons imported from Detroit. What proceeded was one of the most violent and destructive strikes in the history of the United States.³⁴

Reuther stresses in his propaganda "democracy," "brotherhood" and "human rights." The strikers use quite different tactics. Many thousands of Kohler workers did not wish to leave their jobs and strike. They were not only beaten, kicked, spat upon and insulted as they tried to enter or leave the plant, there were over 800 incidents of violence and vandalism away from picket lines. These included shotgun blasts into homes, dynamiting automobiles and buildings, paint bombings, window smashing, tire slashings, and the throwing of acid into automobiles and inside houses; even animals owned by employees were attacked, dairy cows were slashed with razor blades and pigs were poisoned.

In 1958, while the McClellan Committee was conducting hearings concerning labor racketeering, Senator McClellan received over one hundred thousand letters, all from rank-and-file union members, all with the same plea. Here is a sample, "We pray to God that we will someday get some laws passed in this country that will help us working people rid ourselves of these dictators so that we can govern ourselves".³⁶

Reuther is justly famous as an orator. John L. Lewis, former President of the C.I.O., commented on Reuther's verbal abilities to radio reporter Martin Agronsky, "Well, Reuther is an earnest Marxist, chronically inebriated, I should think, by the exuberance of his own verbosity".³⁷

Reuther will eloquently invoke the external threat of Communism when he is using it as an excuse for another step into socialism.

Besides hastening the socialization of the United States, this tactic allows Reuther's press agent-army to promote the myth that he is an anti-communist.

One of the most powerful socialistic groups financed by Reuther's organization is the Americans for Democratic Action, known as the ADA. It uses the words "democratic" and "liberal" not in their honorable sense, but as palatable synonyms for socialism. The ADA was originally called Union for Democratic Action, but when the public was made aware by a Congressional Investigating Committee that its officers, directors and sponsors were riddled with known Communists, the organization did a quick-change act. From its beginning the UDA had masqueraded as "anti-communist" and "liberal," but when the public discovered this fraud, the UDA called a convention, dissolved itself, and at the same convention formed the ADA. The ADA eliminated the identified communists but not those with extensive Communist front records. The ADA, just as its parent predecessor, the Communist dominated UDA, claims to be "anti-communist" and "liberal".³⁸

Walter Reuther was a founder of the ADA and his auto workers supply a large percentage of its financing. More than seventy ADA members hold key posts in the federal government including the office of Vice President of the United States.³⁹

According to the respected columnist Victor Riesel, Reuther's latest plan is to organize what Reuther calls the "35 million have-nots" into a proletarian army to demand more socialism if necessary by staging demonstrations in every major city in America. Reuther calls this blueprint for revolution the "Citizen's Crusade" and is co-operating with Martin Luther King to establish training centers in major cities with a \$1 million initial budget supplied by the UAW.

How successful has COPE and Reuther been in gaining control of the United States government? In the 1965-66 Congress, the COPE machine had been influential in electing 57 of the 100 Senators and 237 of 435 Congressmen; a clear majority in both houses.⁴⁰

Because only a minute percentage of Americans actively participate in the political events that shape the future of our nation, it is possible to build a political machine that could seize control of the reins that guide America's destiny.

If COPE's leadership and their political machine pleases you, then all you have to do is relax, COPE is working hard.

If not, then **now** is the time for you to get active. Any political machine can be beaten by hard working, concerned Americans.

All across America there are thousands upon thousands of good Americans who are working for responsible government by educating their fellow citizens to the evils of power-hungry political organizations. You can do your part by checking with the program chairman presenting this film. Find out how you can secure it for showing to a group of your friends. The frequent use of this film will multiply your personal effectiveness.

It is important that every American contributes his time and effort to good government. Remember, our children will inherit the kind of government we leave them. The choice is yours.

FOOTNOTES

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2. **New York Times**, February 29, 1944, p. 1.
3. **Will the CIO Capture the Democratic Party?** by Louis Waldman, **Saturday Evening Post**, August 26, 1944.
4. Crane, Dr. Phillip M., **The Democrat's Dilemma**, Regnery Co., Chicago, 1964, p. 271. Hereinafter cited as **Dilemma**.
5. Heard, Alexander, **The Costs of Democracy**, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960, p. 3.
6. **Dilemma**, p. 320-324.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
8. Campaigns, Jameson G., **Check-Off: Labor Bosses and Working Men**, Chicago, 1961, p. 161. See also **Dilemma**, pp. 263-69.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 298.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
12. COPE produced film PEOPLE IN POLITICS.
13. **Los Angeles Times**, July 15, 1966.
14. **Dilemma**, see chapters 21 and 22.
15. H.R. 7750 "Foreign Assistance Act," introduced April 29, 1965.
16. **Monterey Park Californian**, Feb. 18, 1965.
17. **Dilemma**, p. 226.
18. "Report of the Joint Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities," Calif. Senate, Sacto., 1947, p. 46.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 70 and 78.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
22. While serving in the Calif. Legislature, Hawkins was cited by his fellow Legislators for belonging to the following Communist fronts: American League for Peace and Democracy, Calif. Labor School, China Conference Arrangements Committee, Conference for The People's Daily World, International Labor Defense, Mobilization for Democ., People's Educational Center, Progressive Citizens of America, Sleepy Lagoon Defense Comm. Tom Mooney Labor School, United Negro and Allied Veterans of Am., Worker's Alliance, Young Communist League. Taken from 1947 and 1948 Senate Comm. Report.
23. Eldorous Dayton, **Walter Reuther**, Devin Adair, N.Y., 1958, pp. 12-13.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.
26. Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. Gvt. Printing Office, 1938, Vol. 2, pp. 1495-6.
27. Mathews, J. B., **Reuther's Revolution**, American Mercury, Sept. 1955.
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29. Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 1, p. 125.
30. Dayton, p. 55.
31. Mathews, J. B., **Reuther's Revolution**, American Mercury, Sept. 1955.
32. **Daily Worker**, Sept. 4, 1937.
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35. *Ibid.*
36. Dos Passos, John, **What Union Members Have Been Writing Senator McClellan**, Reader's Digest, Sept. 1958, Offensive.
37. Interview with Martin Agronsky on "Look Here," Jan. 5, 1958.
38. **Dilemma**, pp. 170-180.
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40. United Auto Workers publication "Solidarity," Jan. 1965, p. 4.

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